An (In)Auspicious Gathering

The Western Economic Opportunities Conference of 1973

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A background paper for...

Ottawa and the West
Reflections on the
Western Economic Opportunities Conference of 1973

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Cover photo: Robert Roach

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Executive Summary

Held in Calgary in 1973, the Western Economic Opportunities Conference (WEOC) was a milestone in the evolution of western Canada's relationship with the federal government. For the first time, a prime minister held an official meeting with the premiers of the four western provinces to discuss regional issues. This unprecedented three-day televised event was chaired by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and attended by over 300 delegates and official observers including several future western premiers and two future prime ministers.

The conference took place at a critical juncture in Canadian politics. The Trudeau Liberals had just taken a beating in the West in the 1972 federal election and four western premiers – David Barrett in BC, Peter Lougheed in Alberta, Allan Blakeney in Saskatchewan, and Edward Schreyer in Manitoba – were ready to challenge the West's "second cousin" status in the federation. Pierre Trudeau came West in 1973 planning to showcase the federal government's assistance to the West but was met by a group of premiers determined to address longstanding grievances and force the federal government to dramatically change its policies toward the region.

By the end of the conference, a frustrated Pierre Trudeau banged the gavel and announced the end to the "one and only" Western Economic Opportunities Conference. With this symbolic gesture, Trudeau concluded a conference that failed to meet the federal government's goal of spreading its message and impressing western voters. From the West's perspective, the conference did not lead to the new national policy toward the West hoped for by the western premiers. WEOC has, in turn, been described as a disappointment and a second WEOC is yet to be held.

Despite this, the legacy of WEOC is significant for several reasons. First and foremost, WEOC set in motion a new era of interprovincial cooperation in western Canada. While preparing for WEOC, BC's estrangement from the prairie provinces under Premier W.A.C. Bennett ended and the annual Western Premiers' Conference was born. WEOC demonstrated both the advantages of the four western provinces working together and that they could indeed overcome their differences and cooperate on a practical level.

Second, WEOC revealed a New West hungry for change – a region ready and willing to stand up for itself in the Federation. This new self-awareness and the federal government's failure to accommodate it led to strained relations between Ottawa and the western provinces that continue to work against the efficiency of the Federation to this day.

Third, the conference highlighted the representational void within the federal government that hamstrings the West's ability to get its voice heard in Ottawa. Excessive party discipline, an ineffective Senate, and the tendency of westerners to elect opposition MPs leave westerners with the sense that their interests are not understood, or worse, ignored by Ottawa. WEOC thus presented an opportunity for provincial leaders to step into this representational void and act as spokesmen for western interests to Ottawa in a way that goes far beyond provincial areas of jurisdiction. As such, WEOC helped create the tradition of premiers serving as regional representatives to Ottawa instead of reforming the federal government itself and carving out room for strong regional voices within the federal government.

An (In)Auspicious Gathering outlines the political context in which WEOC took place, what the provinces did to prepare, what happened at the conference, and the legacy of WEOC. By so doing, it highlights the value of interprovincial cooperation and the continuing need for westerners, the federal government, and all Canadians to find ways to improve the infrastructure and tone of federal-provincial relations. Reflecting on WEOC presents an opportunity for decision-makers and citizens alike to consider how to break the pattern of dysfunctional federal-provincial relations that has marked the last 30 years.

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I. Introduction

> This Conference at Calgary signifies the Government of Canada's belief that, a century after the old national policy, we can now together begin shaping a new national policy to strengthen Canada by achieving more balanced and diversified regional growth throughout the country.
>
> – Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Opening Statement at WEOC

Proposed in the January 1973 federal government Throne Speech and held in July of the same year, the "one and only" Western Economic Opportunities Conference (WEOC) brought together the prime minister, the premiers of the four western provinces, several future western premiers, two future prime ministers, and other key regional and national players to discuss the federal government's role in the economic development of the West. The conference was a critical event in the evolution of the relationship between the federal government and western Canada.

Although only a small number of people today may have heard of WEOC, it ushered in a new era of federal-provincial relations, led to the establishment of the annual Western Premiers' Conference, shaped the perceptions and attitudes of dozens of political and bureaucratic decision-makers (many of whom are still active in government circles), and marked the rise of a "New West" hungry for economic development and a reformed federation.

In many ways, however, WEOC is as important for what it did not do as for what it did do. WEOC did not lead to the new national policy Trudeau referred to in his opening statement. It was not the beginning of a new and improved relationship between the region's provincial governments and the national government, and it was the not an effective tonic for western alienation. On the contrary, it set a combative tone for federal-provincial relations that still rings today and highlighted the stubborn gulf between the country's historical western hinterland and its political centre.

WEOC took place at a time when western Canadians were on the cusp of the "New West" – a period of dramatic economic, political, and social change. In many ways, this period is analogous to the current scene where again a prosperous, growing, and dynamic West is testing its place in the Canadian federation. It is thus an opportune time to revisit the important but somewhat contradictory legacy of WEOC, and to search for contemporary lessons. Before this can be done, however, it is necessary to first ground WEOC in the circumstances of its time.

II. The Political Context of WEOC

> The concerns of the West are more than a matter of dollars, or job security, or even economic opportunity, important as these are. It's a feeling of western Canadians that we have a great deal going for us in the West, but we feel frustrated in reaching out for our potential because we sense such potential is not fully understood or appreciated in central Canada and hence, we are thwarted by federal government policies.
>
> – Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed at WEOC

The representational void created by the tendency of westerners to elect MPs from opposition parties (see Figure 1), the constraints of party discipline, an ineffective Senate, and a federal bureaucracy centralized in Ottawa were all becoming more apparent as the federal government expanded its economic and social roles in the 1960s and 1970s. The alienation rooted in John A. Macdonald's National Policy and the federal government's sketchy record in the West was deepening as longstanding western grievances remained unresolved and new ones were forming. Trudeau himself was certainly aware of the problem created by the lack of effective western Canadian representation within the federal government, and referred to it at WEOC:

> When westerners speak of alienation, I know they refer not solely to the lack of economic opportunity. Many are at least as concerned with the "lack of leverage" in national decision-making. They want a stronger voice in national affairs.

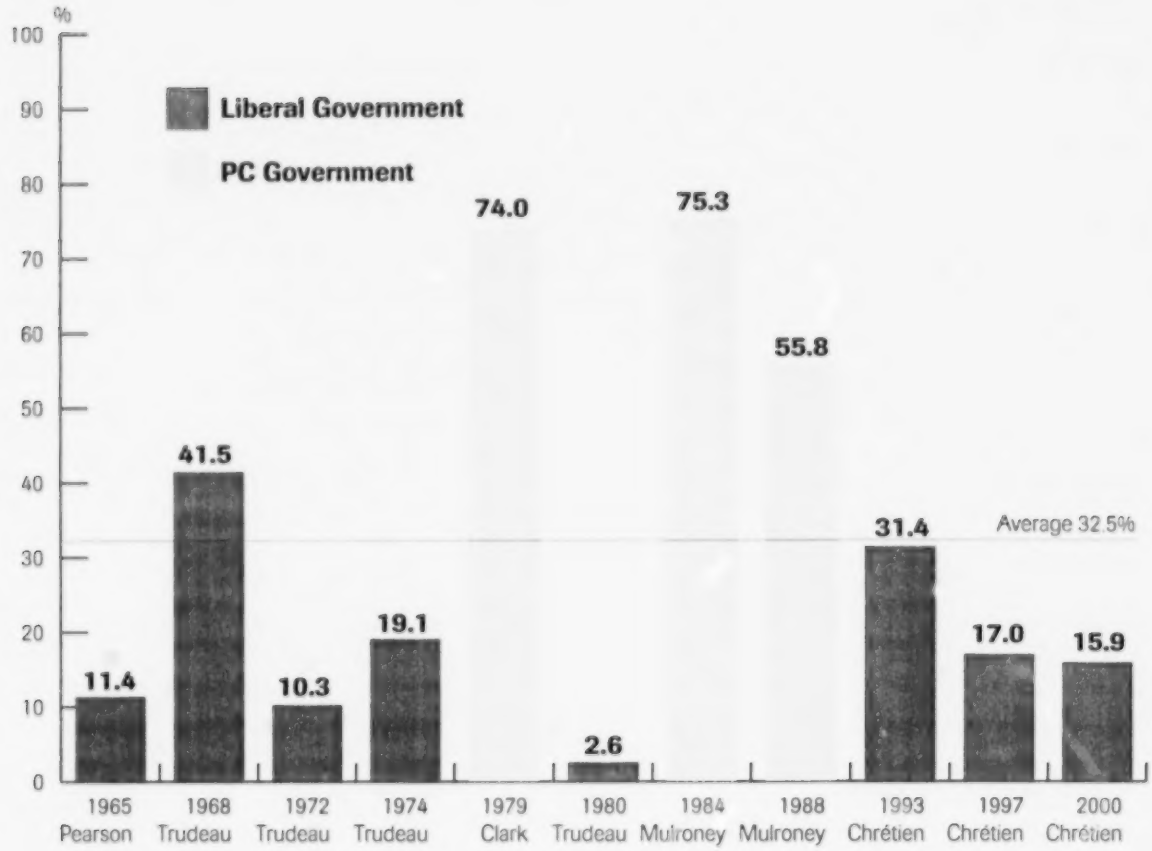
Rising alienation rooted in the chronic lack of an effective western Canadian voice within the national government created conditions ripe for greater involvement on the part of the western provinces in federal affairs. In a paper written in the late 1970s that cites WEOC as a milestone in the use of federal-provincial conferences as vehicles for voicing regional issues to the federal government, Gordon Robertson notes that:

> It is partly because we have lacked an effective forum for open regional advocacy and brokerage within our institutions at the federal level of government that provincial premiers and ministers have been assuming more and more the role of regional commentators and critics in areas of federal jurisdiction (Robertson 227).

As the federal government was increasing its role in the lives of Canadians, the provinces were also expanding the depth and range of their activities. This further increased the likelihood of clashes between the two orders of government as each tested the equilibrium of the evolving division of powers. As a result,

> the provinces [became] more aggressive in their demands for consultation prior to the enactment of federal legislation in areas of provincial jurisdiction and in areas of federal jurisdiction that have a direct impact on the

Figure 1:
Percentage of Western MPs on the Government Side of the House, 1965-2000



provinces. This change in posture on the part of the provinces...necessitated the creation of specialized agencies and secretariats to facilitate regularized consultation between the two levels of government as well as the establishment of more frequent and more regularized channels for inter-provincial communication (Westmacott and Dore 341).

However, the establishment of a new intergovernmental infrastructure did not ward off regional conflict and in some cases may have exacerbated it. The battle lines were being drawn and the forces needed to fight the battle were being marshalled.

Reducing Western Alienation

Thirty years after the Western Economic Opportunities Conference, western alienation continues to be a problem that extends beyond economic considerations. It remains rooted in the chronic lack of an effective western Canadian voice within the federal government. Alienation is about representation, not economics.

A recent Canada West Foundation report entitled ***The West in Canada: An Action Plan to Reduce Western Discontent*** *presents the federal government with a set of ten easy-to-do recommendations for increasing the West's ability to influence federal policy, improving the structure of the Canadian federation, and addressing the corrosive effects of western alienation. Copies of the Action Plan are available for free on the Canada West Foundation's website (www.cwf.ca).*

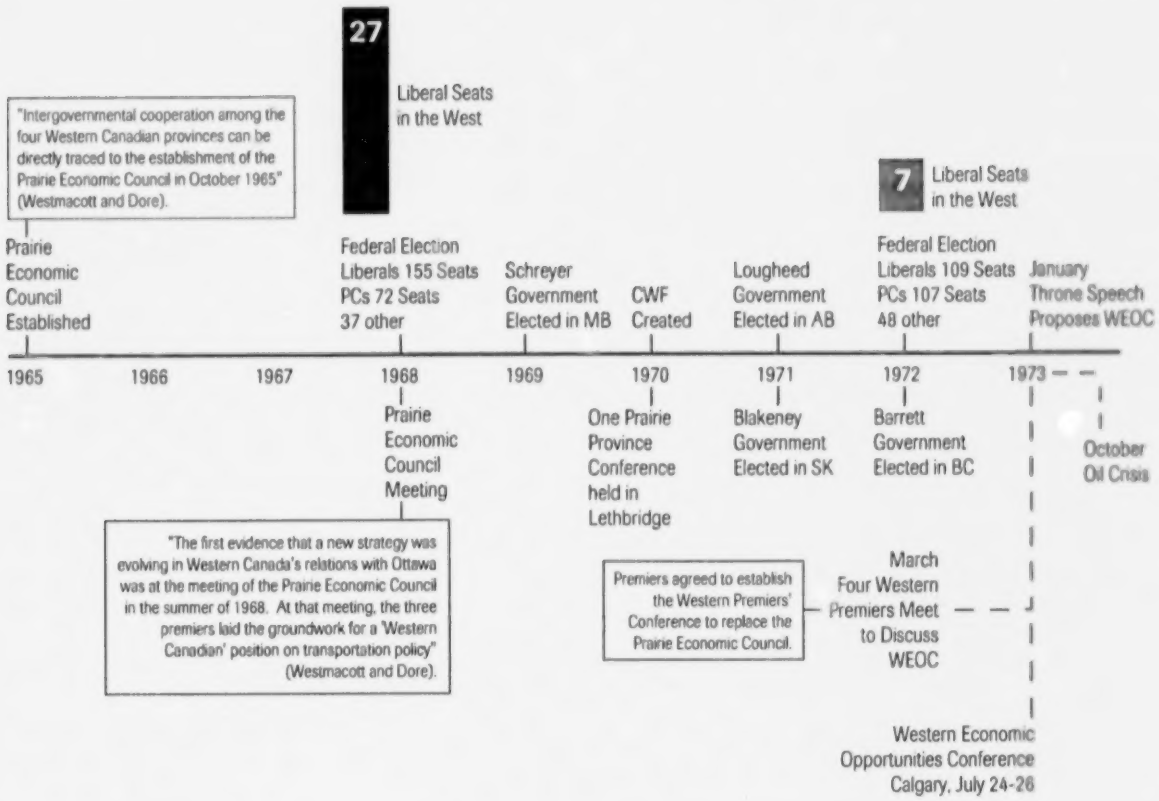
On the political front, four new premiers were elected in the West between 1969 and 1972, and the strategic value of interprovincial cooperation was becoming clearer:

> Prior to 1968, there had been virtually no attempt on the part of the four Western provinces to present a "Western Canadian" position at federal-provincial conferences with the expectation that such a posture would ultimately strengthen the West's bargaining position. ...This, of course, permitted the federal government to employ the familiar tactic of "divide and conquer."
>
> ...the change in political leadership [between 1969 and 1972] facilitated greater intergovernmental cooperation among the four governments. Each of the premiers indicated a greater willingness than his predecessor to set aside partisan and personality differences in the hope that a regional policy could be developed (Westmacott and Dore 344-345).

The Trudeau Liberals' narrow victory in the 1972 election (109 Liberal, 107 Conservative, and 31 NDP seats) combined with the fact that the Liberals lost a lot of ground in the West (a drop from 27 western Liberal MPs as of the 1968 election to just 7) added to the already volatile political mix. Nowhere was this volatility greater than in the West. "The message was getting through. For whatever reasons – in Western Canada the natives were restless" (Blakeney 241).

It was an opportune time for political shifts, and WEOC was the catalyst for an increased role for provinces (i.e., premiers) as spokespeople for provincial interests in areas of both provincial and federal jurisdiction. WEOC also stimulated a greater degree of cooperation among the four western provinces. The legacy of this initial cooperation remains today in the form of annual meetings of the western premiers and a broad range of interprovincial initiatives (see Fox and Roach for a list of examples).

Figure 2:
The Political Context of WEOC


27
Liberal Seats in the West
"Intergovernmental cooperation among the four Western Canadian provinces can be directly traced to the establishment of the Prairie Economic Council in October 1965" (Westmacott and Dore).
7
Liberal Seats in the West
Prairie Economic Council Established
Federal Election Liberals 155 Seats PCs 72 Seats 37 other
Schreyer Government Elected in MB
CWF Created
Lougheed Government Elected in AB
Federal Election Liberals 109 Seats PCs 107 Seats 48 other
January Throne Speech Proposes WEOC
1965
1966
1967
1968
1969
1970
1971
1972
1973
Prairie Economic Council Meeting
"The first evidence that a new strategy was evolving in Western Canada's relations with Ottawa was at the meeting of the Prairie Economic Council in the summer of 1968. At that meeting, the three premiers laid the groundwork for a 'Western Canadian' position on transportation policy" (Westmacott and Dore).
One Prairie Province Conference held in Lethbridge
Blakeney Government Elected in SK
Barrett Government Elected in BC
October Oil Crisis
Premiers agreed to establish the Western Premiers' Conference to replace the Prairie Economic Council.
March Four Western Premiers Meet to Discuss WEOC
Western Economic Opportunities Conference Calgary, July 24-26

III. Preparing for WEOC

> Mr. Prime Minister, we do not seek handouts. We will certainly appreciate a helping hand, but even that is not our primary purpose here. What we are really asking for is that you free our hands of the shackles of history which deny us the fulfillment of our destiny.
>
> - Saskatchewan Premier Allan Blakeney at WEOC

The Western Economic Opportunities Conference was announced in the federal Throne Speech of January 4, 1973:

> The Government will propose to the Governments of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba that they join with it in the convening of a conference on western economic opportunities. Such a conference

> would be a unique venture in the history of federal-provincial relations in Canada. It could be jointly planned, and held in the West in the course of the summer. Its purpose would be to explore potentials for economic and social development and, specifically, to consider concrete programs for stimulating and broadening the economic and industrial base of western Canada (Government of Canada 1973).

Never before had the federal government called a meeting with a subset of provinces to discuss regional concerns, and the chance to discuss the grievances of the West "was an opportunity that the West could not pass by" (Blakeney 241). The four western provinces agreed to participate and began *working together* in preparation for the conference. This flowering of interprovincial cooperation was taking place at a time when the economic and social ties that traditionally held the region together were fraying. Even among the Prairie provinces, the common bonds of the wheat economy were beginning to unravel in the face of economic diversification and urbanization (Gibbins).

Somewhat ironically, however, the federal government itself provided essential regional glue. Although not the only remaining tie binding the western provinces together, alienation from the federal government and, to some degree, the rest of Canada, was a key factor explaining the regional cohesiveness of the New West. As Allan Blakeney has pointed out, "people in the four western provinces tend to have a common perception of Canada and what Confederation is all about" (Blakeney 239).

A key change in the months prior to WEOC was a new willingness on the part of BC to join forces with the Prairie provinces. Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba had been quietly working together in a formal sense since the creation of the Prairie Economic Council in 1965. The BC Premier at this time, W.A.C. Bennett, was not a supporter of western interprovincial solidarity and argued that BC should be seen as its own region, that it was better off if it stood alone rather than aligning itself with the Prairies. Premier Dave Barrett, however, was more open to the idea of forging a regional consensus and joined the three Prairie premiers in their efforts to prepare *common* positions for presentation to the federal government at WEOC.

In March 1973, the four western premiers met in Winnipeg, renamed the Prairie Economic Council the Western Economic Council to include BC (following WEOC, the Council morphed into the annual Western Premiers' Conference), and began preparing common position papers on transportation, economic and industrial development opportunities, agriculture, and capital financing and regional financial institutions. Allan Blakeney describes this process as "a struggle" to overcome provincial differences that was ultimately successful (Blakeney 241). "A new strategy of dealing with Ottawa was beginning to develop and by June of 1973, four policy papers were forwarded to Ottawa that had the endorsement of each of the four provinces" (Westmacott and Dore 347). As a consequence of this successful experiment in interprovincial cooperation, WEOC was "the first occasion on which the federal government entered into discussions with a regional grouping of provinces that were united behind a common position on a broad range of issues" (Westmacott and Dore 347).

There was a sense among the western premiers that the federal government planned to come West and use WEOC to highlight federal initiatives rather than to listen to western concerns. There was also a sense that Trudeau expected the four premiers to be divided by ideological and provincial differences and that this would allow him to showcase the federal government's policies while the premiers squabbled among themselves. As Lougheed recalls:

> Remember, Trudeau had almost lost an election; his party had very few seats in the West. I guess they decided to make a show of responding to the West and they probably believed they would look good at the expense of the four western provinces. ... I think Ottawa sat down and decided "Well look, we've got three socialist governments out there. There's Barrett, NDP; there's the Schreyer NDP government in Manitoba and there's the Blakeney NDP government in Saskatchewan. Then there's that odd-ball Conservative Lougheed. They'll never get a long, so why don't we call a conference with the four western provinces? They'll be so divided that we'll look like the only people who can hope to resolve the problems of the West (Wood 107-108).

A key element of the pre-WEOC strategy adopted by the four western premiers was the decision to table potentially divisive topics and focus on areas of clear agreement. As Lougheed explains:

> We knew that Trudeau's idea was to divide and conquer, so we developed a strategy for the agenda. We figured that first of all the federal government would want to put energy on the agenda, and all four of us agreed that it was not the time for energy discussions. We agreed to do that later (Wood 108).

One of the key outcomes of WEOC, therefore, was the establishment of the Western Premiers' Conference and the interprovincial cooperation it has engendered:

> [Preparing for WEOC] was a valuable exercise, though not always an easy one. It made us face realities. It encouraged us to cut down areas of competition and conflict amongst ourselves in the interests of the region as a whole. It forced us to consider our specific grievances within a broader framework for development of the region. ... And, as a result of our close collaboration in preparing for the Conference, personal rapport developed among the Premiers, Ministers and officials of the four western governments. Many of these personal relationships endure today, and a habit of close consultation and co-operation among the four western provinces has developed. It would be difficult to argue that WEOC succeeded in changing the direction of federal policies, but its impact on western provincial co-operation was substantial (Blakeney 242).

IV. The Conference

> Unfortunately, present day federal government policies still encourage the concentration of the country's business, industry and financial capital...in central Canada.
>
> – British Columbia Premier David Barrett at WEOC

WEOC was held in Calgary at Mount Royal College. The meeting was chaired by Prime Minister Trudeau and attended by over 300 delegates and official observers (see the Appendix for a list of participants). The four western provincial delegations were led by the premiers of the day: David Barrett (BC), Peter Lougheed (Alberta), Allan Blakeney (Saskatchewan), and Edward Schreyer (Manitoba). Among the many notable participants were future prime ministers John Turner and Jean Chrétien, and future premiers Don Getty and Roy Romanow. The three-day event was televised and received considerable media attention.

The main theme of the conference was the diversification of the western Canadian economy ("stimulating and broadening the economic and industrial base of western Canada"). This general theme was divided into five topic areas:

- objectives for the West;
- transportation;
- industrial and commercial development;
- capital financing and financial institutions; and
- agriculture.

There was a shared assumption on the part of both the federal government and the provinces that the West lagged behind central Canada in terms of economic development, and that policy levers could be used to increase the amount of value-added manufacturing taking place in the region. Changing freight rate policy, for example, was seen as a way to not only address a western grievance, but to create the conditions necessary for more value-added production in the West.

Premier Blakeney summarizes the West's demands at WEOC as follows:

1. Canada needs a conscious national policy for regional development;
2. Canada's national transportation system should be used as a deliberate tool for regional development; and
3. Canada needs national policies to bring greater stability for producers of primary products (Blakeney 242).

The details of the discussions can be found in *A Report on the Western Economic Opportunities Conference* prepared by

the Canada West Foundation and published a few months after the conference in November 1973. (For the more zealous historian, there is the verbatim record of the proceedings prepared by the federal government.)

Headlines that appeared in the *Calgary Herald* and *Globe and Mail* at the time of the conference point to the tense nature of the discussions and the lack of progress made at WEOC:

- Trudeau won't give ground
- WEOC a disappointment
- Ottawa misunderstands
- Ottawa vs. the West at Mount Royal College
- The mood was 'confrontation'
- As far as a sense of mutual belonging or brotherliness was concerned, yesterday's talks at Mount Royal College might just as well have been the world disarmament talks or the Nixon-Brezhnev summit
- Trudeau arrives happy, a good day ahead; From then on, it was down hill
- Lougheed takes the hard line
- Lougheed, Turner, square off over tariffs
- Premiers find WEOC useful but limited: No vast changes in store for West
- West is disappointed
- Meeting becomes clipped exchange over freight rates
- Premiers wrangle with Ottawa
- Premiers, Trudeau fail to agree on issue of rail freight rates
- Western talks missed goals, premiers say
- Trudeau called western meeting 'one and only'.

There is broad agreement that, although better than nothing, WEOC was a profound disappointment. This disappointment is rooted in the fact that the western provinces approached the meeting with high expectations; they wanted "concrete policy proposals that would alleviate Western grievances" (Westmacott and Dore 346). The high expectations for the meeting are evident in the following excerpt from a speech given by Premier Lougheed a few months before WEOC:

> ...if [WEOC] turns out to be merely talk and there are not concrete results, it will be a setback for Canada. In social and unity terms, a western region charging forth on all cylinders as a full participant in Canada surely has to be a positive factor for Canadian unity. And in economic terms, the realization by western Canadians of their full potential can benefit all Canadians. So this July conference in Calgary provides a unique opportunity to make historic changes. All of Canada, and central Canada in particular, should be supporting the national

> government in policy commitments which will make the conference a success. It will only be a success if there is a commitment to action. A mere agreement to consider will not be enough (Lougheed).

The West wanted the new national policy Trudeau mentioned in his opening address at the conference, but they didn't get it. Instead, Trudeau "punctuated his final address with non-committal phrases such as 'the federal government and the provinces should intensify discussions and reciprocate consultation on major areas of current concern'" (Westmacott and Dore 348). As a result, all four premiers were "pessimistic over the federal proposals for western development" (Westmacott and Dore 349). Simply put, the provinces were asking for more than the federal government was prepared to offer. As Elton notes:

> the meeting fell far short of attaining the expectations of either the federal or provincial governments. Rather than setting the stage for what the federal Throne Speech referred to as "concrete programs for stimulating and broadening the economic and industrial base of Western Canada," the meeting ended with few concrete accomplishments... (Elton 351).

Blakeney reinforces this sense of failure: "...WEOC failed to bring us much closer to the goal then enunciated by the Prime Minister – a new 'National Policy'" (Blakeney 242). The image of Trudeau hitting the gavel at the close of the conference and saying "Well, thus ends the one and only Western Economic Opportunities Conference" has come to symbolize the federal government's – particularly Trudeau's – failure to understand the New West and the beginning of cold relations, and even outright hostility, between Trudeau and the region.

V. The Significance of WEOC

> This discussion in the last thirty minutes, if I may say so, with respect, has deteriorated partly because there seems to be a lack of communication, despite the fact that we are talking. There isn't much communication.
>
> – Manitoba Premier Edward Schreyer at WEOC

Disappointment on all sides over the outcome of the conference should not be equated with a lack of significance. The significance of WEOC is, in fact, rooted in its *failure* to address western discontent and in the *by-products* it generated including kick-starting a new era of western Canadian interprovincial cooperation and an expanded role for premiers on the national stage.

Strained Relations

The failure of the conference to create a new national policy set the tone for subsequent relations between the federal government and the western provinces; additional WEOCs were not held, the provinces concluded that the federal

government was not willing to fully address the region's concerns, and the federal government became frustrated with a disgruntled West. Writing in the late 1980s, Elton goes so far as to say that:

> The opening shots of the decade-long battle between the western provinces and Ottawa were taken at the July 1973 Western Economic Opportunities Conference. While the four position papers presented to the federal government by the western premiers detailed western grievances ... the federal government's lack of response made it clear that there would be little change. National policies and programs which had frustrated westerners for so long would not undergo any fundamental changes. Thus, when the additional frustrations brought on by conflicts over resource revenues, which emerged within weeks of WEOC in September, 1973, were added to the list of western grievances, a recipe for outright hostilities had been created (Elton 353).

Although much has changed since 1973, a strong case can be made that relations between the region and the federal government remain strained and the need for a different approach has not abated. Indeed, many of the issues – from transportation to trade policy – remain sources of friction. The argument made at WEOC that the West needs the federal government's help to achieve its potential may have been replaced by a desire for the federal government to "get out of the way," but the combative tone is much the same.

It is important to note that the tone set at WEOC was experienced first-hand by the participants, many of whom went on to play critical roles in the evolution of federal-provincial relations. The impressions the participants took away with them have likely played a major part in the push and pull of intergovernmental relations in the 30 years since WEOC took place. WEOC was an interpersonal event and politics is very much about interpersonal relationships – both good and bad.

Western Canadian Interprovincial Cooperation

A key by-product of WEOC was the formal inclusion of British Columbia in the interprovincial cooperation efforts of the Prairie provinces and the establishment of the annual Western Premiers' Conference. The main thrust of this cooperation has been directed toward improving the West's ability to influence federal policy by acting as a bloc. A second, lower-profile form of interprovincial cooperation in areas of provincial jurisdiction has also benefited from the groundwork put in place by the WEOC experience (see Fox and Roach).

Increased Role for the Provinces/Premiers

WEOC highlighted the lack of western Canadian representation within the federal government and provided an opportunity for western premiers to fill this void with their voices. Since WEOC, this has become a standard practice as there has been no movement toward structural reforms that would increase western Canadian voices within the national government.

VI. Conclusion

> In summary and on balance, I would have to regretfully conclude that the responses by the federal government were disappointing...I have to give you full marks for calling the Conference and working at it...but for some reason that is a complete mystery to me...we haven't yet got through either the spirit or the potential of the West. Frankly, we would have forsaken any federal dollars, any federal programs...in exchange for understanding.
>
> – Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed, Closing Statement at WEOC

> ...I couldn't help notice...the word "disappointment" or some equivalent word appeared in almost every one of the evaluations. But I must confess that I don't feel crushed by that.
>
> – Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Closing Statement at WEOC

This brief paper has not delved into the specific policy outcomes that may have resulted from WEOC nor has it examined the behind-the-scenes changes it may have engendered. It has, rather, tried to provide an overview of the political climate in which WEOC took place and its influence on the general tone and direction of intergovernmentalism in Canada. In this sense, the Western Economic Opportunities Conference is an important chapter in the ongoing story of how the West fits into the federation. It was an unsuccessful attempt by the federal government to address western discontent. Despite this, WEOC did achieve a number of intended and unintended goals. The federal government may not have left with a complete appreciation of western concerns and aspirations, but it did listen and it did take at least some action. The provinces may not have left with a satisfactory response to their demands, but they were able to go on record with their grievances and establish a platform for regional cooperation. CWF

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*Appendix: List of WEOC Participants**

DELEGATES AND ADVISERS

CANADA

The Right Honourable Pierre Elliot Trudeau
Prime Minister

The Honourable Stanley Ronald Basford
Minister of State for Urban Affairs

The Honourable Jean Chrétien
Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

The Honourable Jack Davis
Minister of the Environment and Minister of Fisheries

The Honourable Alastair William Gillespie
Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce

The Honourable Jean-Pierre Goyer
Minister of Supply and Services

The Honourable Donald Campbell Jamieson
Minister of Regional Economic Expansion

The Honourable Otto Emil Lang
Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada

The Honourable Donald Stovel Macdonald
Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources

The Honourable Jean Marchand
Minister of Transport

The Honourable James Armstrong Richardson
Minister of National Defence

The Honourable John Napier Turner
Minister of Finance

The Honourable Eugene F. Whelan
Minister of Agriculture

Advisers

Mr. J. Austin
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Mr. F. A. G. Carter
Deputy Secretary to Cabinet
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Mr. J. Desroches
Deputy Minister, Dept. of Supply and Services

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** This list is a copy of the list of participants that appears in the verbatim record of the conference (Government of Canada 1977). Unlike the original list, the names within sections (except for the prime minister and the premiers) have been placed in alphabetical order as has the order of the provinces.*

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